DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 138 092 FL 008 511

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TITLE Effects of the Turkish Language Reform on Person Perception. Working Papers of the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, No. 47.
INSTITUTION California Univ., Berkeley. Language and Behavior Research Lab.
SPONS AGENCY American Council of Learned Societies, New York, N.Y.; National Inst. of Mental Health (DHEW), Rockville, Md.; Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 76
GRANT MH-25703
NOTE 48p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Language Attitudes; *Language Planning; *Language Styles; Language Variation; Lexicography; Official Languages; Paragraphs; *Political Attitudes; *Social Values; Sociolinguistics; Standard Spoken Usage; *Turkish; *Vocabulary
IDENTIFIERS Language Reform; Turkey

ABSTRACT

As a result of the Turkish language reform, modern Turkish spans a range of styles from traditional to reformed, the former preferred by right-wing, traditionalist, and religious sectors of the population, the latter by left-wing, modernist, and secular sectors. Turkish students evaluate the two styles differently, and attribute attitudes and values to writers on the basis of their linguistic style. To define more precisely the means by which Turkish university students attribute social and political attitudes and values to individuals on the basis of the style of Turkish they use, a study was carried out in which matched pairs of paragraphs, differing only in use of traditional or reformed lexicon, were presented to students for rating of their putative authors on attitude and semantic differential scales. Results indicate that pairs of old and new terms cannot be considered synonymous in modern Turkish. Choice of terminology communicates important messages about the political and social ideology of the speaker; and these messages will be interpreted differently on the basis of the political and social ideology of the listener. (Author/AM)

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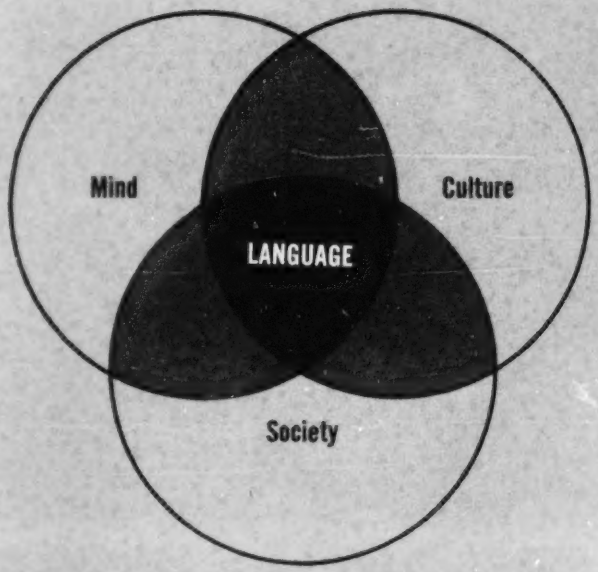

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FL008511

The Language Behavior Research Laboratory is an interdisciplinary research project at the University of California at Berkeley. It is supported by Research Grant No. MH 25703 from the National Institute of Mental Health. This support is gratefully acknowledged.

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Language Behavior Research Laboratory
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EFFECTS OF THE TURKISH LANGUAGE REFORM ON PERSON PERCEPTION

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WORKING PAPER # 47

Language Behavior Research Laboratory

1976

This investigation was supported by a collaborative grant from the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, to whom we express our thanks.

1. INTRODUCTION

> Language is not only a powerful lever in social, cultural, and national development but it is a constant ingredient of such development and, in its realization as speech or writing, a powerful indicator of interaction networks, social situations, role-relationships, domains of aggregative activity, dominant value clusters, and national missions or symbols.
>
> --Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta (1968)

> The tie between national feeling and language is very strong. A language which is national and rich provides a basis for the development of national feeling. The Turkish language is one of the richest of languages, needing only attentive effort for its fulfillment. The Turkish people, who knew how to preserve their high independence, must save their language from the yoke of foreign tongues.
>
> --Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Atatürk) (1930)

1.1. PROLOGUE

In 1973 the senior author (D.C.) was teaching a course on contemporary trends in psychology at Hacettepe University in Ankara, and invited a guest lecturer to speak on the history of Turkish psychology. The man was in his late fifties, and, given the rapidity of the Turkish language reform, his manner of speaking reflected his age. That is to say, he used several words of Arabic and Persian origin which, even though still comprehensible, were no longer used by younger speakers. After the lecture, D.C. asked his students whether they had enjoyed it and found it interesting. To his surprise, the students' comments were not about the lecture, but about the lecturer. Most of them identified him as a political rightist, most probably not a supporter of the social reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the modern Turkish republic. D.C. asked the students how they had formed this judgment, since the lecturer had not spoken about his political affiliations at all. They replied that it was obvious: anyone could tell by listening to the language he used.

This observation prompted D.C. to ask colleagues whether they had had similar experiences in their classrooms. Most of them reported that they were very conscious of the style of speech they used in their lectures, being afraid to be "understood" as either leftist or rightist. Indeed, D.C. became aware that his own lecturing style tended to balance new words against old, in an attempt to avoid being labelled a supporter of either political extreme.

The present study is motivated by these observations. We sought to define more precisely the means by which Turkish university students attribute social and political attitudes and values to individuals on the basis of the style of Turkish which they use. In order to clarify this current sociolinguistic issue, we begin with a brief discussion of the history and present status of the Turkish language reform. (For further detail, see Berkes, 1964; Gallagher, 1971; Hazai, 1970; and Lewis, 1968.)

1.2. TURKISH LANGUAGE REFORM

Turkish-speaking populations began to settle in Asia Minor by the tenth century. They brought with them an Altaic language from Central Asia, and a recent conversion to Islam. The successive Turkish empires in the Near East all oriented to the Islamic languages of Arabic and Persian as the dominant vehicles of religion, administration, and literature, resulting in a court language with massive borrowing not only of lexicon, but also of associated grammatical structures from the two languages, and written in Arabic script--poorly equipped to represent a language characterized by a thoroughgoing vowel harmony. By Ottoman times, this elite language was virtually incomprehensible to the uneducated majority of the population.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century various pressures led to some simplification of this Ottoman language, chiefly for reasons of administrative efficiency and communicability. The role of newspapers became increasingly important, especially after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. As Lewis puts it (1968, p. 431): "The repeated struggles for power--whether electoral, demagogic, or military--neded swift and effective use of the new mass media of information. The series of wars in which the new régime [Young Turk] was involved made a different but no less cogent

demand for simple and accurate communication. The printing press and the telegraph both played a great part in the simplification of Turkish." The first part of the old Ottoman style to go was the Arabic and Persian grammatical apparatus which had accompanied lexical borrowings; the alphabet was finally Romanized under Atatürk in 1928. We will not concern ourselves with these aspects of the reform here. What still remains as the dominant identifying mark of older and newer styles of Turkish is the relative degree of usage of words of Turkish origin as opposed to semantically equivalent Arabic and Persian terms.

With the demise of the Ottoman Empire, attention became focused on Turkish nationality and the need to shape a small, linguistically homogeneous nation in the territory remaining under Turkish control. As language became a more central defining feature of national (as opposed to Ottoman) identity, language reform became tied to the definition of that national identity. Two differing approaches to reform manifested themselves. One, expressed most clearly by the nationalist ideologist Ziya Gökalp (1959), was both Islamic and popular. The criterion of reform was taken as comprehensibility; accordingly, Persian and Arabic words were to be retained if they were part of everyday speech. The contrasting and more radical approach, epitomized by Atatürk, was secular and purificationist. The goal was to discard everything non-Turkish and return to, or re-create, a pre-Islamic and non-Islamic language. Indeed, most of Atatürk's social reforms, as well as the alphabet reform, were aimed at severing ties with the Ottoman and Islamic past. Given the power of his long personal reign (1923-1938), it was the second approach which became the policy of government. However, the first approach has continued in strength, and the present state of affairs is an uneasy and shifting balance between purification and comprehensibility.

In 1932 Atatürk founded the Turkish Linguistic Society, with the joint goals of purification and simplification of the language, and this Society continues to suggest new vocabulary. However, these suggestions have not only been tempered by the mass media, but the media themselves have played a central role in shaping the reform. Changing political currents since Atatürk's death in 1938 have been reflected in fluctuating official support of purification. However, except for publication of various linguistic versions of the constitution, and varying degrees of support for the

Turkish Linguistic Society, the government has not played a direct legislative role in the language reform. The degree of success of the reform must be accounted for in psycho- and sociolinguistic terms, rather than government action.

The proportion of Arabic and Persian words in everyday Turkish has drastically declined, but they are by no means absent. Nor have foreign words in general disappeared. The lexical reform has been most evident in those semantic fields rich in Islamic associations: religion, philosophy, sociopolitical issues, economics, aesthetic literature. These areas are now heavily Turkish in lexicon. The language of personal feelings and everyday life still has a high proportion of frequent and familiar Persian and Arabic terms. Western European languages contribute heavily in areas of science and technology. The goal of total purification, as always, has not been achieved.

New words have been coined from Turkic roots, often dipping into long-forgotten historical records. Many of these inventions have not survived, both for reasons of incomprehensibility and, in many cases, violation of principles of Turkish word formation. (Cüceloğlu [1974] has demonstrated speakers' sensitivity to these principles in a psycholinguistic study of responses to invented Turkish words.) Where new words have proven felicitous, they often co-exist with the old words they had been intended to replace, dividing what was once a single semantic field. For example, it had been intended to replace the Arabic word cemiyet 'society' by a new and pure Turkish word, toplum, a noun formed from a verb meaning 'to gather together'. Today, both words remain: toplum to refer to 'society' in the sociologist's sense, and cemiyet to refer to individual groups of people organized together within a society (e.g. Türk toplumu 'Turkish society' vs. Türk psikoloji cemiyeti 'Turkish psychological society'). The determinants of the viability and eventual meanings of new words remain to be thoroughly researched.

The political tone of language use changed in the 1960s. A national identity and a comprehensible national language had been established. The dividing issues in modern Turkish society are along ideological lines and, as suggested in our Prologue, language is now the reflection of one's position on the ineluctable left-right spectrum. The leftist reformers wish to remove attachments to traditionalism, and use language reform as

one of their tools. The rightists are relatively content with the language as it is. The implications of language reform and comprehensibility have now switched. The rightists want to hold onto a comprehensible and popular language; the leftists have produced a new elite language, so "purified" as to lose in comprehensibility. Schoolchildren now need three kinds of dictionaries to read literature written during the period since the foundation of the Republic: an Ottoman-Turkish--Turkish dictionary, an everyday monolingual dictionary, and a Turkish--Pure-Turkish (öztürkçe) dictionary! The Ottoman language is dead, but "Turkish" and "Pure Turkish" are alive. Our study is aimed at the extremes of this contemporary continuum, which we refer to as a continuum from "Traditional Turkish" (TT) to "Reformed Turkish" (RT), but the positions of speakers and writers can be identified all along the scale in contemporary Turkey.

This, in brief, is the current status of the Turkish language reform. It is useful to contrast it with reforms in other countries. The Turkish reform is not a revival of an ancient language, as in Israel or Ireland. Nor does it represent the raising of one of several conflicting languages or dialects to official status, as in Norway or India. The Turks have not been interested in developing a multilingual nation. Modern Turkish is not the result of planned development of a vernacular into a national language as, for example, Indonesian. The concern has been almost entirely lexical and, despite repeated attempts at widespread Turkicization, has been more successful in some semantic areas than others. The government has been only partially involved, using incentives and example rather than direct control of linguistic usage. What has resulted is a language of national communication and a population which can neither read nor understand fifty-year-old texts in their own language. What remains to be seen is whether the current language will be just as incomprehensible to speakers several generations hence.

1.3. RESEARCH PLAN

Our research plan consists in presenting equivalent written texts, differing only in the use of TT and RT vocabulary, in an attempt to elucidate the dimensions of attitudes and values which can be attributed to a writer on the basis of his linguistic usage. We have chosen written

texts, rather than recorded speech, because conscious use of linguistic style is more clearly reflected in written material in Turkey. Indeed written mass media and literature have been the dominant arenas of linguistic debate and experimentation.

The general research pattern has its roots in social psychological studies of reactions to the use of French and English in French Canada, begun in the late fifties by Wallace Lambert at McGill University (Lambert et al., 1960), and extended in numerous studies of attribution of personality characteristics to speakers on the basis of language, dialect, accent, and voice quality (cf. Anisfeld, 1974). Lambert's research technique, the "matched guise technique," presents listeners with recorded segments of speech in which an individual speaker is heard, at various points in a series of passages, as speaking in one or another of the two language forms he controls. Listeners are asked to rate each speaker individually on various dimensions, and are found to reliably attribute differing personality characteristics to the same speaker on the basis of the language used. Studies concerning contrasting languages (Lambert et al., 1960, 1962, 1966; El-Dash & Tucker, 1973; Tucker, 1968), contrasting dialects (Lambert et al., 1965), and contrasting accents (Anisfeld et al., 1962) have indicated that the matched guise technique effectively reveals linguistic stereotypes.

The current study is also embedded in social psychological studies of attribution in interpersonal perception. Specifically, we predict that the use of TT or RT initiates expectancies, in the context of contemporary Turkish culture, which are used to attribute intentions and dispositions to speakers. We expect that these contrasting linguistic styles, although defined entirely on the basis of lexical choice, will have the same effect in triggering linguistic stereotypes as the bilingual and bidialectal contrasts studied by Lambert and his colleagues.

2. METHOD

In order to test the effects of linguistic style on person perception, subjects were presented with matched TT and RT texts with the task of rating the supposed writers of these texts on various attitude and evaluation scales. In the following sections we describe the construction of the texts and rating scales.

2.1. MATERIALS

2.1.1. TT and RT Texts

The guiding hypothesis of this study is that linguistic style alone, with content held constant, is of sufficient salience to Turks to influence attributions of attitude and personality to the speaker or writer. Accordingly, our goal was to construct texts on various topics, differing only in style.

The first phase in text construction consisted in sampling 27 paragraphs, in both TT and RT, from a wide range of contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines. The senior author then paraphrased each paragraph in its opposite style, replacing new by old vocabulary or vice versa, holding syntax constant. These pairs of texts were presented to a group of 20 undergraduate students at Hacettepe University in order to ascertain whether both versions seemed "natural." That is, the students were instructed, for each pair, to judge whether both versions were comprehensible and could have occurred in the current linguistic environment. Each pair was rated on a ten-point scale, with a score of ten indicating that both paragraphs were definitely comprehensible and natural. The five most highly rated text pairs were selected, and this group was subsequently reduced to three pairs dealing with distinctly different topics. Of these three texts, one had been originally written in RT and was drawn from a theater review in a magazine. The other two were originally TT, one of them a descriptive passage on clothing from a story, and the other a discussion of scientific research from a biology textbook. The paragraphs were then slightly rewritten so as to be equal in length. The three text pairs are presented in Table 1.

2.1.2. Attitude Scales

The attitude scales were constructed through a series of procedures described in detail in the Appendix. The result of these procedures was a set of 21 polar items, representing seven major attitude areas likely to be affected by the linguistic style: education, science and technology, politics, male-female relations, economics, labor, and morality (see Table 2). For each item, the polar statements were placed at opposite ends of a nine-point scale with a zero midpoint, each of the steps defined by a Turkish quantifier:

Table 1A

Old and New Texts

Each particle of our clothing carries a memory related to various aspects of our life. Some of our garments remind us about happy events, some of them about our longings (for one thing or another). Clothes that we have worn when we were going to school bring back memories which are significant to us in a different way. In short, no matter how much we deny it, it is impossible to erase from our consciousness the memories that are associated with our clothing.

TT (old)

Elbiselerimizin her birinin hayatımızın çeşitli yönleriyle alakalı birer hatırası mevcuttur. Bazı elbiseler saadet dolu hatıralarımızı, bazı elbiseler hasretlerimizi hatırlatır. Mektebe giderken giydiğimiz elbiselerin akla getirdiği hatıralar bir başka ehemmiyet taşırlar. Velhasıl bütün inkarlara rağmen elbiselerin akla getirdikleri hatırları şuurumuzdan çıkarıp atmamız imkansızdır.

RT (new)

Giysilerimizin her birinin yaşamımızın türlü yönleriyle ilgili birer anısı vardır. Bazı giysiler mutluluk dolu anılarımızı, bazı giysiler özlemlerimizi ansıtır. Okula giderken giydiğimiz giysilerin çağrıştırdığı anılar bir başka önem taşırlar. Sözün kısası, tüm yadsımalara karşın giysilerin çağrıştırdıkları anıları bilincimizden çıkarıp atmamız olanaksızdır.

Concept	Old Word	New Word
CLOTHING (GARMENT)	elbise	giysi
LIFE	hayat	yaşam
VARIOUS	çeşitli	türlü
RELATED TO	alakalı	ilgili
MEMORY	hatıra	anı
EXISTS	mevcut	var
HAPPINESS	saadet	mutluluk
LONGING	hasret	özlem
TO REMIND	hatırlatmak	ansıtmak
SCHOOL	mektep	okul
TO ASSOCIATE	akla getirmek	çağrıştırmak
IMPORTANCE	ehemmiyet	önem
IN SHORT	velhasıl	sözün kısası
ALL	bütün	tüm
TO DENY	inkâr etmek	yadsımak
IN SPITE OF	rağmen	karşın
CONSCIOUSNESS	şuur	bilinç
IMPOSSIBLE	imkansız	olanaksız

Table 1B

Old and New Texts

While conducting scientific research on plants, scientists pay attention to the relationship between the plants and the environment within which they grow. According to some scientists, it is impossible to reach a valid scientific conclusion by only observing the plant itself; one has to take into account the environmental conditions within which it grows. Before he starts his scientific endeavor, it is the first job of a researcher to come to a clear understanding concerning the above mentioned methodological issue.

TT (old)

Alimler nebatları ilmi açıdan tetkik ederken, nebatların içinde inkişaf ettikleri muhitle olan münasebetlerine ehemmiyet verirler. Bazı alimlere göre, nebatın içinde inkişaf ettiği muhit şartları bilinmeden, sadece nebatı müşahade ederek, muteber bir ilmi neticeye varmak mümkün değildir. Bir araştırıcı ilmi gayretinde, herşeyden önce, ilmi usulle alakalı yukarda zikredilen mevzuu bir sarahata kavuşturmak mecburiyetindedir.

RT (new)

Bilim adamları bitkileri bilimsel açıdan incelerken, bitkilerin içinde geliştikleri çevreyle olan ilişkilerine önem verirler. Bazı bilim adamlarına göre bitkinin içinde geliştiği çevresel koşullar bilinmeden, yalnızca bitkiyi gözleyerek, geçerli bir bilimsel sonuca ulaşmak olanaksızdır. Bir araştırıcı bilimsel çabasında, herşeyden önce, bilimsel yönteme ilişkin yukarda sözü geçen konuyu bir açıklığa kavuşturmak zorundadır.

Concept	Old Word	New Word
SCIENTIST	alim	bilim adamı
PLANT	nebat	bitki
SCIENTIFIC	ilmi	bilimsel
TO STUDY, TO INVESTIGATE	tetkik etmek	incelemek
TO DEVELOP	inkişaf etmek	gelişmek
ENVIRONMENT	muhit	çevre
RELATIONSHIP	münasebet	ilişki
TO EMPHASIZE	ehemmiyet vermek	önem vermek
CONDITION	şart	koşul
ONLY	sade	yalnız
TO OBSERVE	müşahade etmek	gözlemek
VALID	muteber	geçerli
CONCLUSION	netice	sonuç
POSSIBLE	mümkün	olanaklı

(continued on next page)

Table 1B (continued)

EFFORT	gayret	çaba
METHOD	usul	yöntem
RELEVANT	alakalı	ilişkin
TO MENTION	zikretmek	sözünü etmek
SUBJECT	mevzu	konu
CLARITY	sarahat	açıklık
OBLIGATION	mecburiyet	zorunluluk

Table 1C

Old and New Texts

This play has an interesting quality, both from the viewpoint of form and of content. It focuses on local issues within a framework of contemporary thinking; it represents a general point of view, but its formal characteristics are taken from the cultural sources of this society. This form, which penetrates beneath the surface of the core of the subject matter, represents an instance of integration of contemporary and traditional theater.

TT (old)

Temsil, hem şekil hem muhteva açısından alaka celbedici bir hususiyettedir. Muasır düşünce seviyesini ihtiva eden muhtevası içinde mahalli meselerle yönelirken geniş şumullü bir görüş açısını tesbit eden bu temsilin şeklî hususiyetleri de, bu cemiyetin kültür menşelerine dayanır. Satıhta kalmadan muhtevaya inen bu şekil ananevi Türk tiyatrosunda mevcut olan hususiyetlerle bir terkibe götürülmüştür. Müellifin tercih ettiği şekil muhtevayı aydınlatmakta ve böylece vazifesini ifa etmektedir.

RT (new)

Oyun, gerek öz ve gerek biçim açısından ilgi çekici bir özelliktedir. Çağdaş düşünce düzeyini kapsayan özü içinde yöresel sorunlara yönelirken geniş kapsamlı bir görüş açısını saptayan bu oyunun biçimsel özellikleri de, bu toplumun kültür kaynaklarına dayanır. Yüzeyde kalmadan ve özü içeren bu biçim, geleneksel Türk tiyatrosunda varolan özelliklerle çağdaş bir bireşime götürülmüştür. Yazarın seçtiği biçim özü aydınlatmakta ve böylece görevini yerine getirmektedir.

(continued on next page)

Table 1C (continued)

Concept	Old Word	New Word
PLAY	temsil	oyun
FORM	şekil	biçim
CONTENT	muhteva	öz
INTERESTING	alaka celbedici	ilgi çekici
CHARACTERISTIC	hususiyet	özellik
CONTEMPORARY	muasır	çağaş
LEVEL	seviye	düzey
TO CONTAIN	ihtiva etmek	kapsamak
LOCAL	mahallı	yöresel
ISSUE	mesele	sorun
INCLUSION	şumul	kapsam
TO LOCATE, TO FIX	tesbit etmek	saptamak
SOCIETY	cemiyet	toplum
SOURCE	menşe	kaynak
SURFACE	satıh	yüzey
TRADITIONAL	ananevi	gelenksel
TO EXIST	mevcut (olmak)	var (olmak)
INTEGRATION	terkip	bireşim
AUTHOR	müellif	yazar
TO CHOOSE	tercih etmek	seçmek
TASK	vazife	görev
TO FULFILL	ifa etmek	yerine getirmek

TABLE 2

Attitude Scales by Area[1]

EDUCATION

(4) A: He thinks that the important thing in education is to teach the child to express his ideas freely.
B: He thinks that the important thing in education is to teach the child to obey authority.

(9) A: He would spend money on building schools.
B: He would spend money on building mosques.

(13) A: He thinks that modern education, in every aspect, is superior to traditional education
B: He thinks that traditional education is superior to modern education in some respects.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

(5) A: He thinks that traditions inhibit scientific and technological development.
B: He thinks that traditions do not inhibit scientific and technological development.

(14) A: He is in favor of scientific and technological development after the socioeconomic system of the society changes.
B: He is in favor of scientific and technological development within the present socioeconomic system.

(18) A: He prefers to live in a society which has established its socioeconomic system in accordance with recent scientific findings.
B: He prefers to live in a society which has established its socioeconomic system in accordance with the traditions which it has developed through history.

POLITICS

(1) A: He hopes that Turkey, in the future, will be governed under a socialistic system.
B: He would not like Turkey, in the future, to be governed under a socialistic system.

(11) A: He agrees with the viewpoint that "politics reflects the struggle between the interests of social classes."
B: He agrees with the viewpoint that "politics reflects the struggle between the interests of nations."

(17) A: He thinks that the youth movement contributes to the realization of social justice.
B: He thinks that the youth movement does not contribute to the realization of social justice.

TABLE 2 (continued)

MALE-FEMALE RELATIONS

(3) A: He finds dating before marriage acceptable.
B: He finds dating before marriage unacceptable.

(7) A: He believes in equality between men and women.
B: He does not believe in equality between men and women.

(15) A: He agrees with the idea that women should be both economically and socially independent.
B: He disagrees with the idea that women should be independent both economically and socially.

ECONOMICS

(2) A: He thinks that a "people's sector"[2] should be established.
B: He thinks that establishment of a "people's sector" is not necessary.

(10) A: He is in favor of labor strikes.
B: He is not in favor of labor strikes.

(12) A: He is in favor of land reform.
B: He is against land reform.

LABOR

(8) A: He thinks that workers carry the heaviest burden of the society on their shoulders.
B: He thinks that workers do not carry the heaviest burden of the society on their shoulders.

(16) A: He is in favor of the workers becoming organized.
B: He is not in favor of the workers becoming organized.

(20) A: He believes that the workers should have a dominant role in the society.
B: He believes that the workers should not have a dominant role in the society.

MORALITY

(6) A: In his moral judgments he reflects a modern mentality.
B: In his moral judgments he reflects a traditional mentality.

(19) A: He thinks that a middleman who gets very large profits is more immoral than a prostitute.
B: He does not think that a middle man who gets very large profits is more immoral than a prostitute.

TABLE 2 (continued)

MORALITY (continued)

(21) A: He thinks that a person's being a thief, a liar, a pickpocket should be considered within the framework of the economic production system that he grew up in.
B: He does not think that a person's being a thief, a liar, a pickpocket should be considered within the framework of the economic production system that he grew up in.

1. The numbers in parentheses before each item indicate its order of occurrence in Order 1 of the study (see Section 2.2.2. below). Note that Turkish does not distinguish between "he" and "she," resulting in sexually neuter forms of these items in the original.

2. A current political issue, proposed by Ecevit in 1974, in regard to the establishment of new industries on the basis of broad public sale of governmentally insured shares of stocks.

(A)	7.0	4.5	2.5	1.0	0	-1.0	-2.5	-4.5	-7.0	(B)
	pekçok	çok	oldukça	biraz	hiç	biraz	oldukça	çok	pekçok	
	[a lot]	[very]	[rather]	[a little]	[none]	[a little]	[rather]	[very]	[a lot]	

On the basis of a previous study (Cüceloğlu, 1974), scale weights for these quantifiers were determined for Turkish subjects, as reflected in the values given on the above scale. These values were used in calculating all rating scores in this study. As in the examples above, the end of the scale marked (A) always represents more modern values, and receives positive scores, while the (B) pole represents more traditional values and receives negative scores.

2.1.3. Semantic Differential

The goal of the attitude scales described above was to elicit attributions of attitude to the supposed text writers. In addition, semantic differential scales were employed in order to elicit subjects' affective responses to the writers. The Turkish version of the semantic differential had been previously constructed by the senior author (Cüceloğlu, 1972) as part of Osgood's cross-cultural study of affective meaning (Osgood, Miron, & May, 1975). For purposes of this study, three scales were selected from each of the three dimensions of affective meaning: Evaluative (good-bad, pleasant-unpleasant, tasteful-tasteless), Potency (big-little, heavy-light, high-low), Activity (soft-hard, young-old, active-inactive).

2.2. PROCEDURE

2.2.1. Subjects

Subjects were 542 university students, 328 male and 214 female. In order to represent the full spectrum of the Turkish university population, they were drawn from a wide variety of institutions and disciplines (see Table 3). Because of the political tensions among Turkish university students at that time, subjects were guaranteed anonymity. Accordingly, the only personal information recorded on scoring sheets was sex. The age distribution was roughly between 18 and 25.

In addition, each subject was given a list of political parties and a list of newspapers, and was asked to rate each in order of preference. Breakdown of subjects on these political criteria can be found in Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 3

Academic Origins of Student Raters

Institutions	Location	Disciplines
Hacettepe University	Ankara	psychology, sociology, social work, child development, home economics, business administration, English, physical engineering, chemical engineering, biology
Middle East Technical University	Ankara	social sciences
University of Ankara	Ankara	education, political science, literature, history
Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences	Ankara	law
University of Istanbul	Istanbul	psychology, sociology, history, Turcology
Istanbul Technical University	Istanbul	electrical engineering
Bosphorus University	Istanbul	social sciences, humanities

TABLE 4

Primary Political Preferences of Student Raters[1]

Political Party	Total	No. of Men	No. of Women	Percent of Total Student Sample
Turkish Socialist Workers Party (T.S.I.P.)	68	14	27	12.5
Unity Party (B.P.)	3	3	0	.6
Republican People's Party (C.H.P.)	294	153	141	54.2
Democratic Party (D.P.)	5	3	2	.9
Justice Party (A.P.)	30	19	11	5.5
Republican Reliance Party (C.G.P.)	8	3	5	1.5
National Salvation Party (M.S.P.)	21	19	2	3.9
National Movement Party (M.H.P.)	56	50	6	10.3

1. The parties are listed in order of degree of political polarity, from T.S.I.P. on the far left to M.H.P. on the far right. The initials in parentheses are the Turkish designations of the parties.

TABLE 5

Primary Newspaper Preference of Student Raters

Newspaper[1]	Total	No. of Men	No. of Women	Percent of Total Student Sample
LEFT				
Yeni Ortam	55	25	30	10.1
Cumhuriyet	201	125	76	37.1
Milliyet	145	72	73	26.8
NEUTRAL				
Günaydın	12	6	6	2.2
Hürriyet	23	8	15	4.2
RIGHT				
Tercüman	42	30	12	7.7
Anadolu	26	25	1	4.8
Orta Doğu	34	30	4	6.3

1. The newspapers are listed in order of degree of political polarity, with Yeni Ortam at the far left, Orta Doğu at the far right, and the two "neutral" newspapers roughly equal in their political neutrality.

From Table 4 it is evident that the majority of Turkish students prefer leftist parties, with only about 32% indicating primary preference for parties of the right. A similar breakdown in political preference is by newspaper choice in Table 5.

2.2.2. DESIGN

Each subject received only one of the three text pairs. For each pair, half of the presentations were in the order RT-TT, and half in the order TT-RT. Subjects read both texts first and then rated the two writers on the same scales. A random order of attitude scales was constructed (Order 1). In order to control for a possible middle effect, a second order (Order 2) was constructed dividing the list in half, and presenting the second half first. Orders 1 and 2 were used in equal numbers. All subjects received the attitude scales first, followed by the semantic differential scales in a fixed random order.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. ATTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TO TT AND RT WRITERS

The overall results of the relations between linguistic style and attribution of attitudes are reflected in the three-way analysis of variance given in Table 6 (three-factor design, unequal sample sizes; cf. Keppel, 1973). Because of unequal sizes in party preferences, political affiliations have been regrouped into four categories for purposes of analysis: (1) far left (B.P., T.S.İ.P.), (2) left (C.H.P.), (3) right (A.P.), and (4) far right (C.G.P., M.S.P., M.H.P.). (The Democratic Party, which was perferred by less than 1% of the student population, was omitted because, at the time of the study, that party was vacillating between allegiance with C.H.P. or A.P.) The main effects of political party and attitude area were significant, as was the interaction between attitude area and party. The variable of sex was not significant by itself or in interaction with the other major variables. Accordingly, we can conclude that, for all student raters, regardless of sex, the linguistic style of the text materials played a significant role in the attribution of attitudes to the supposed text writers, and, further, that this attribution of attitudes to

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance

(Three factor design, three-way interaction, unequal sample sizes. Keppel, 1973)

Variables

S : Sex (Male, Female)
P : Parties (CHP, BP-TSİP, AP, CGP-MHP-MSP)
A : Attitude Areas (Education, Science, Politics, Male-Female Relations, Economics, Labor, Morality)

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F	Significance Level
Mean	118591.62592	1	118591.62592	432.07	.001
S	890.42584	1	890.42584	3.24	.072
P	6385.37681	3	2128.45994	7.76	.001
SP	560.02086	3	186.67362	.68	.565
Error	126807.44598	462	274.47499		
A	3661.00000	6	610.21335	20.95	.001
AS	146.37355	6	24.39559	.84	.541
AP	1133.35471	18	62.96415	2.16	.003
ASP	823.79922	18	45.76662	1.57	.059
Error	80756.95372	2772	29.13310		

writers is significantly influenced by the political party preference of the student rater. Thus the major hypothesis of the study has been supported.

Table 7 presents a breakdown of ratings by attitude area and party preference of raters. The most salient finding in Table 7 is the fact that RT is consistently perceived as reflecting attitudes towards the modernist pole of all scales, while TT is consistently perceived in the opposite direction. This is true regardless of the political preference of the rater. Therefore we can conclude that there is a high degree of national consensus on the implications of language usage.

Furthermore, in all cases but one (Far Left rating on Science), RT scores are always higher (that is, more polarized) than TT scores. This means that RT consistently evokes a stronger or more reliable attribution of attitudes to the writer than does TT. Again, this picture holds true across the entire political spectrum of raters. Apparently, then, usage of RT is more marked as a social indicator than is failure to use RT. This is not to say that TT is unmarked, since responses to TT are consistently different from zero, but that usage of newer terminology gives more information about the user than does discourse lacking in new terminology.

Table 8 presents polarization scores of mean ratings by attitude area and party preference. Here we are concerned with a rater's use of the extremes of the scales. The polarization score is defined as the total number of rating steps between RT and TT, averaged over the three scales for a given attitude area, and grouped by party preference of raters. The column means indicate that there is a direct relationship between relative leftness of political position and increasing use of more extreme rating points in both directions from the midpoint. (As indicated in a subsidiary study reported in Section 3.1.2 below, this difference cannot be attributed to a general leftist tendency to use the extremes of rating scales.)

The last column in Table 8 shows overall differences in polarization scores between leftist and rightist students. A small difference in this column reflects essential agreement on the implications of linguistic style for attitude attribution, while a larger difference suggests that the leftists rely more heavily on linguistic cues for attribution in a particular attitude area than do the rightists. It is interesting to note that the area of greatest agreement in this regard is politics. That is, both

TABLE 7

Mean Ratings of RT and TT by Attitude Area and Party Preference[1]

Style	Left Parties			Right Parties		
	Far Left	Left	Mean of Left	Right	Far Right	Mean of Right
EDUCATION						
RT	3.98	3.45	3.72	2.46	2.07	2.27
TT	-1.56	-2.14	-1.85	-1.23	- .75	- .99
SCIENCE						
RT	1.44	1.62	1.53	.69[2]	1.65	1.17
TT	-3.32	-1.53	-2.43	- .32	-1.55	- .94
POLITICS						
RT	2.99	2.97	2.98	2.91	2.42	2.67
TT	-2.89	-2.32	-2.61	-2.63	-1.59	-2.11
MALE-FEMALE						
RT	3.32	3.88	3.60	3.34	2.75	3.05
TT	-3.16	-2.19	-2.68	-1.49	-1.00	-1.25
ECONOMICS						
RT	3.32	3.36	3.34	2.95	2.27	2.61
TT	-2.85	-1.79	-2.32	-1.16	- .48	- .82

(Table 7 continued on next page)

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TABLE 7 (continued)

Style	Left Parties			Right Parties		
	Far Left	Left	Mean of Left	Right	Far Right	Mean of Right
LABOR						
RT	4.43	3.27	3.85	2.62	2.28	2.45
TT	-3.18	-1.85	-2.52	-1.27	- .72	-1.00
MORALITY						
RT	4.43	2.81	3.62	2.02	1.69	1.86
TT	-2.68	-1.76	-2.22	-1.04	- .91	- .98

1. Negative scores represent ratings away from the zero mid-point towards the traditionalist end of each scale; positive scores are towards the modernist end; with a maximum score of ± 7.00. (See discussion of weighing of scale steps in section 2.2.2.)

2. This is the only pair of values in the table which does not discriminate significantly between RT and TT ($p > .05$). All of the other differences are significant with $p < .001$.

TABLE 8

Polarization Scores of Mean Ratings by Attitude Area and Preference[1]

Attitude Area	Far Left	Left	Mean of Left (M_L)	Right	Far Right	Mean of Right (M_R)	$M_L - M_R$
Education	5.54	5.59	5.57	3.69	2.82	3.26	2.31
Science	4.76	3.17	3.97	1.01	3.20	2.11	1.86
Politics	5.99	5.29	5.59	5.54	3.96	4.75	.84
Male-Female	6.48	6.07	6.28	4.83	3.75	4.29	1.99
Economics	6.17	5.15	5.66	5.11	2.75	3.93	1.73
Labor	7.71	5.12	6.37	3.89	3.00	3.45	2.92
Morality	7.11	4.57	5.84	3.06	2.60	2.83	3.01
COLUMN MEANS	6.24	4.99	5.61	3.88	3.15	3.52	

1. Polarization score is the sum of deviation from zero in both positive and negative directions on attitude scales (i.e., following Table 7, RT + TT, ignoring sign).

leftists and rightists tend to polarize the writers equally on the political dimension, using RT as an indication of more leftist political attitudes. In regard to morality, however, leftists rely heavily on linguistic style to attribute moral attitudes to the writers, while rightist are much less inclined to make attributions of this sort. This probably reflects leftist politicization of all social and personal issues, along with a moral commitment to the issue of language reform itself. For both leftists and rightists, in contrast, linguistic style is not seen to heavily reflect attitudes towards science. Indeed, this is the least polarized item for both groups, apparently reflecting a general consensus in regard to the need for technological modernization. Overall, almost all areas are significantly affected by linguistic style for leftists, while rightists rely on style mainly to attribute political attitudes and attitudes towards male-female relations to writers. Relations between the sexes represent an important issue along the traditionalism-modernism dimension, and, although not publicly discussed as a political issue, rightists are as sensitive to this area as they are to the area of politics in attributing attitudes on the basis of language use.

Grouping students by primary newspaper readership yields essentially the same picture as the above groupings on the basis of political party preference, as shown in Table 9. Newspapers, however, as opposed to political parties, allow for a three-way grouping into left, neutral, and right. In this regard, it is of interest to note that the readers of neutral papers are least polarized in their differential attitude attributions on the basis of linguistic style, with the readers of rightist papers showing more polarization and the readers of leftist papers showing the greatest degree of polarization, as was demonstrated also on the basis of party preference. Again, it is shown that choice of newspaper is a clear indication of political affiliation for Turkish students.

3.1.2. Characteristics of Leftist and Rightist Students

We were concerned that the difference in polarization scores between leftist and rightists might reflect a general tendency of leftists to use more extreme positions on rating scales. A subsidiary study was carried out to check this possibility. The results of a recent doctoral dissertation on the relationship between political attitudes, self concept, and

TABLE 9

Mean Ratings of RT and TT by Attitude Area and Newspaper Preference[1]

Attitude Area	Left		Neutral		Right	
	RT	TT	RT	TT	RT	TT
Education	3.49	-2.14	1.30	- .93	1.55	- .60
Science	1.77	-1.73	.56	- .55	2.16	-1.39
Politics	3.18	-2.49	1.79	-1.18	1.95	-1.98
Male-Female	3.85	-2.42	2.83	- .84	2.39	- .77
Economics	3.42	-1.98	3.14	- .27	2.11	- .37
Labor	3.64	-2.18	1.28	- .46	2.29	- .57
Morality	2.94	-1.93	2.14	- .58	1.60	- .53
AVERAGE DIFFERENCE SCORE	5.31		2.21		2.70	

1. The left papers are: Cumhuriyet, Yeni Ortam, and Milliyet; the neutral papers: Hürriyet and Günaydın; right: Tercuman, Orta Doğu, and Anadolu.

dogmatism in Turkish university students (Mirci, 1976) showed clear differences between (1) extreme left, (2) moderate, and (3) extreme right students. Briefly:

Leftists

- Come from the younger age group.
- Majority have urban background.
- Have an unfavorable attitude toward religion.
- Have the lowest self esteem among the three groups (as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale)
- On a true/false ratio (T/F) they have the lowest ratio, indicating that they focus more on what they are not than on what they are.

Moderates

- Resemble leftists in age and socioeconomic background.
- 73% have a favorable attitude toward religion.
- Have the second highest self-esteem.
- Are between the two extreme groups in terms of T/F ratio.

Rightists

- Majority have rural backgrounds from large families.
- Majority have a favorable attitude toward religion.
- Have highest self-esteem among the three groups.
- Have the highest T/F ratio, indicating that they define themselves more in terms of what they are than in terms of what they are not.

Given these marked differences in attitudes, self concept, and social origin, could it be that members of these three groups simply used rating scales differently in our study? We selected three groups of 12 Turkish university students each, roughly matching the three groups of Mirci's study. In order to identify students' political affiliations, they were asked to rate ten Turkish daily newspapers on a nine-point 'like-dislike' scale. They were also asked to rate themselves on a five-point 'political affiliation' scale, indicating their degree of proximity to either the left or right wing. These students were given a list of nine words to rate on four Evaluative scales: tasteful-tasteless [zevkli-zevksiz], beautiful-ugly [güzel-çirkin], pleasant-unpleasant [hoş-nahoş], good-bad [iyi-kötü]. Three of the words to be rated were politically neutral ('glass', 'table', 'week'), three were taken from leftist slogans ('strike' [grev], 'peoples' [halklar], 'revolution' [devrim]), and three from rightist slogans ('goal' [ülkü], 'belief' [iman], 'pan-Turkland' [Turan]). The results indicated no significant difference among the ratings of the three groups on the neutral

concepts. However, all three groups of students rated both the leftist and rightist ideological concepts as significantly different from each other ($p < .01$). The degree of polarization was least for the moderates, and high for both leftists and rightists. Within group comparisons also indicate that leftists and rightists make a significant differentiation between the two groups of political concepts, whereas moderates do not. This subsidiary study indicates that it is the issue being rated which causes polarization, rather than the personal tendencies of members of a political group.

3.2. SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL RATINGS OF TT AND RT WRITERS

In the previous section we were concerned with attitudes attributed to writers on the basis of linguistic style. In this section, using the semantic differential, we consider raters' affective responses to users of TT and RT. A long tradition of research with the semantic differential, originally constructed by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957), has established three major dimensions of affective meaning. We have sampled each of these dimensions with three pairs of polar qualifying adjectives in this study: Evaluative (good-bad, pleasant-unpleasant, tasteful-tasteless), Potency (big-little, heavy-light, high-low), Activity (soft-hard, young-old, active-inactive). In Table 10 we present ratings of the TT and RT writers on these three dimensions, grouped by political party preference of the raters. Leftist raters perceive RT in positive terms on all three dimensions, however the Potency dimension seems to be least applicable to this issue. Leftists' negative ratings of TT show a similar pattern.

On the right wing, however, there is a distinction between the right and the far right. The rightists' ratings are in the same general direction as those of the leftists, but to a much lesser degree. Those on the far right, by contrast, give negative ratings to RT on all three dimensions, and positive ratings to TT. Underlying this contrast seems to be a distinction between two major classes of current issues: political-economical, or ideological, versus modern-traditional, or cultural. Although rightists disagree with leftists on ideological issues, they are not in sharp disagreement on cultural issues such as modernization, feminism, secularism, and so forth. They apparently conceive of language reform as a cultural issue along with other aspects of modernization, and therefore do not disvalue language reform in itself, though they press it with less

TABLE 10

Semantic Differential Ratings of TT and RT Writers by Political Party Preference of Raters

Affective Dimension		Far Left	Left	Mean of Left	Right	Far Right	Mean of Right
EVALUATIVE	RT	3.75	3.32	3.54	1.51	- .68	.42
	TT	-3.47	-2.00	-2.74	- .21	1.64	.72
POTENCY	RT	1.84	1.34	1.59	.67	-1.29	- .31
	TT	-1.23	- .33	- .78	.61	1.71	1.16
ACTIVITY	RT	3.24	3.18	3.21	2.06	- .28	.89
	TT	-3.29	-2.38	-2.84	-1.17	1.20	.02

enthusiasm than the leftists. The far right, however, is in opposition on both ideological and cultural grounds, and sees language reform as one aspect of a general direction of societal change which they wish to retard or reverse.

Perhaps the most dramatic contrast in Table 10 is between the semantic differential ratings of the far left and the far right. These two groups are most shaprly opposed on all three dimensions. That is to say, when a far leftist encounters RT speech, he responds with strong positive affect, while the same speech evokes negative affect in a far rightist. The picture is exactly reversed in regard to TT speech. The implications for communication are obvious: although a given message may have a clearly definable propositional content, its affective load can be so heavy as to turn it into two different messages, depending on the political set of the listener.

Table 11 presents polarization scores on the semantic differential, just as Table 8 presents polarization scores on the attitude scales. Both Tables 8 and 11 show a tendency for greater polarization by leftists, but Table 11 shows an interesting difference on the right wing between rightists and far rightists. It is the far rightists who are more polarized, just as, on the left wing, it is the far leftists who are more polarized. This trend is most clearly revealed in the bottom row of the table, which presents column means. Note in addition that although both political extremes show greater polarization than the less extreme parties, it is the far left which is the most polarized, both on semantic differential and attitude ratings.

Curiously, the Potency dimension is most highly polarized for the far right, and least polarized for the other three political groupings. We investigated this issue in more detail by breaking down semantic differential ratings on the basis of newspaper readership, which allows for a finer scale of political positions. These data are presented in Table 12. Rightists tend to read newspapers which do not have strong ideological involvement--namely the two more or less neutral or centrist papers, Hürriyet and Günaydın. Readers of the three newspapers on the far right, Tercüman, Orta Doğu, and Anadolu, represent ideologically involved segments of the rightist student body. As in Table 11, readers of these three newspapers make the strongest distinction between RT and TT on the Potency

TABLE 11

Polarization Scores of Mean Ratings by Affective Dimension and Party Preference

Affective Dimension	Far Left	Left	Mean of Left	Right	Far Right	Mean of Right
EVALUATIVE	7.22	5.32	6.27	1.72	2.32	2.02
POTENCY	3.07	1.67	2.37	.06	3.00	1.53
ACTIVITY	6.53	5.56	6.05	3.23	1.48	2.36
Column Mean	5.61	4.18	4.90	1.67	2.27	1.97

TABLE 12

Polarization Scores of Mean Semantic Differential Ratings of TT and RT Writers by Newspaper Preference of Raters

	Newspaper Preference		
Affective Dimension	Left	Neutral	Right
EVALUATIVE	5.57	2.30	1.86
POTENCY	2.12	.89	2.69
ACTIVITY	5.70	3.69	1.16

dimension. Table 13 shows that the far rightists also give their most positive ratings to TT on this dimension. One might speculate that this effect is based on the salience of the issue of power--a traditional Turkish value--to those on the far right, whereas adherents of other political positions are relatively more interested in political and social issues within the country and less interested in the position of Turkey in the international power structure. Rightist rhetoric on the language issue often makes appeals to maintaining contact with Turkic populations in the Soviet Union (Banarlı, 1972; Hacıeminoğlu, 1972), thus attempting to keep alive the Pan-Turkism of the pre-Atatürk period. Perhaps, then, far rightists see TT as having particular potency because of what they see as its ability to expand the geographical extent of Turkish influence.

In regard to the role of newspapers in Turkey, it should be mentioned that the papers of the far left and the far right are most differentiated in their own use of linguistic style, and that, furthermore, it is these papers which tend to present political issues in most inflammatory terms. Many a parliamentary debate is couched in language drawn from these extremist papers, thus directly introducing language into the arena of political struggle. It may be difficult for an American reader to realize the central role played by newspapers and their linguistic style in the on-going practice of politics and government in Turkey. Indeed, political preference and newspaper preference are highly correlated in our data. It will be recalled that students were asked to rank both political parties and newspapers in order of preference. The rank-order correlation between parties and papers is .789 ($p < .001$). Thus there is an intimate connection between the language one reads and the political positions which one favors, reinforcing the connections between language, person perception, and values which we have demonstrated in this study.

4. SUMMARY

As a result of the Turkish language reform, modern Turkish spans a range of styles from traditional (TT) to reformed (RT). This range has political implications, in that TT is preferred by right-wing, traditionalist, and religious sectors of the population, and RT is preferred by left-wing, modernist, and secular sectors. We have demonstrated that Turkish students

TABLE 13

Semantic Differential Ratings of TT and RT Writers by Newspaper Preference of Raters

Affective Dimension		Newspaper Preference		
		Left	Neutral	Right
EVALUATIVE	RT	3.31	1.57	- .44
	TT	-2.26	- .73	1.42
POTENCY	RT	1.55	.77	-1.06
	TT	- .48	- .08	1.61
ACTIVITY	RT	3.16	2.22	.10
	TT	-2.54	-1.47	1.07

evaluate TT and RT differently, and that they attribute attitudes and values to writers on the basis of their linguistic style. Furthermore, these attributions and evaluations are influenced by the student's own political position.

Matched pairs of paragraphs, differing only in use of traditional or reformed lexicon, were presented to students for rating of their putative authors on attitude and semantic differential scales. Raters were classified in terms of their own political positions, on the basis of political party preference and newspaper readership. Regardless of politics or sex of raters, RT was perceived as reflecting modernist attitudes and TT more traditionalist, with RT a more marked indicator of a writer's attitudes than TT. Both leftists and rightists agree in attributing contrasting attitudes to RT and TT writers in the areas of politics and male-female relations, and both political groups agree that linguistic style is not a strong indicator of a writer's attitudes towards science and technology. These ratings indicate a general consensus on the value of technological modernization, along with differing sensitivities on political and ideological issues. In general, language is a more important issue for leftists, and they see linguistic style as reflecting extreme positions on a wider range of attitude dimensions than do rightists.

Students on the far left positively evaluate RT on the semantic differential, and negatively evaluate TT. Students in the center and right-of-center show a similar, but less extreme evaluation of the two styles. The pattern is reversed, however, on the far right, where it is TT which is positively evaluated and RT which is negative. In addition, those on the far right rate TT high in terms of potency, which may reflect a concern with issues of national power at that end of the political spectrum, as opposed to dominant leftist concerns with internal political and socio-economic reform.

Given the politicization of the issue of language reform, and the demonstrated differences between readers in their responses to linguistic style, it is clear that pairs of old and new terms cannot be considered synonymous in modern Turkish. Rather, choice of terminology communicates important messages about the political and social ideology of the speaker; and these messages will be interpreted differently on the basis of the political and social ideology of the listener.

APPENDIX

CONSTRUCTION OF ATTITUDE SCALES

A1. Elicitation of Impression Formation Topics

Ten informants were selected from among graduate students and faculty in the behavioral sciences at Hacettepe University in Ankara. They were given the following instructions.[1]

> Suppose you meet a person for the first time. What would you like to know about that person in order to form an impression of that person. If you could ask about his/her attitudes in regard to various life issues, what sorts of things would you ask about? This is a kind of brainstorming technique: write down whatever comes first to your mind.

Each informant provided about 15 statements, such as: "How does he treat his child?" "Does he like Demirel [the Prime Minister]?" "Is he from the city or the country?" The 139 statements elicited covered an extremely wide area of personal, social, and political topics.

A2. Categorization of Impression Formation Topics

Five judges, consisting of four graduate students in social psychology and the senior author, independently classified the 139 statements into broader topical categories. Subsequently, the group in conference agreed on an inclusive division into 25 categories (listed in Table A1).

A3. Selection of Dominant Impression Formation Topics

A group of 68 undergraduate students at Hacettepe University was given the list of 25 topics with the following instructions:

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1. Turkish versions of all phases of the study are available on request from the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, 2220 Piedmont Ave., University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 94720.

TABLE A3

Rank Order and Frequency of Selection of Impression Formation Topics

Rank Order	Frequency	
1	42	Education
2	41	Science and technology (universities, library, scientific research, technology)
3	36	Politics (international relations, state, nationalism, etc.)
4	32	Male-Female relations (flirting, dating, relating)
5	27	Economics (industrialization, means of production and consumption, economic planning, commerce)
6	25	Labor
7	24	Morality
8	20	Child training and education
9	19	The arts (music, plastic arts, architecture, etc.)
10	17	Personal health / Traditions and conventions[1]
11	16	Media (newspaper, radio, television)
12	15	Nuclear family relations (aile)
13	12	Marital relations / Religion
14	11	Sport
15	8	Law and justice
16	6	Neighborhood
17	4	Bureaucracy / Tourism / Metaphysical concerns
18	3	War
19	2	Fashion
20	1	Military / Extended family relations (akrabalık)

1. Topics separated by a slash are tied for the given rank.

> When you meet a person for the first time, what are the topics about which you would most like to know his/her[1] attitudes? Mark with an X the six of the topics listed below which you see as most important.

Table A[2] presents the 25 topics with their frequencies and rank orders. Because the frequencies of the sixth and seventh most dominant categories were so close, the first seven were selected as the dominant topics for construction of attitude scales. The seven topics are: education, science, politics, male-female relations, economics, social origins, and morality.[2]

A4. Elicitation of Items for Attitude Scale Construction

Another group of 39 undergraduates was posed with the task of devising questions which would reveal an individual's position on each of the seven dominant topics. The initial instructions to these students were:

> Suppose you have met someone. You want to get to know various aspects of this person. You are in a position to ask this person various question in order to know his attitudes on different subjects.
>
> For example, if you wanted to know the person's attitudes about religion you could ask a general question such as, "What do you think about religion?" But the answer to such a question would be general and not very revealing. Instead of asking a general question, questions such as the examples given below would be more revealing of a person's religious attitudes.

Nine examples followed, such as: "Do you believe that a person can change his own fate?" "Are you a supporter of religious education in the schools?" "Do you keep religious fasts?" The students were then asked to supply five questions to tap each of the seven dominant topics.

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1. The corresponding third-person pronoun in Turkish does not distinguish as to gender.

2. This phase of the study--elicitation and categorization of impression formation topics--has been replicated in the United States. A cross-cultural comparison of salient categories used in impression formation will be published separately.

A5. Selection of Potential Items for Attitude Scales

A group of three new judges and the senior author, representing the fields of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, closely examined the 1,365 questions elicited by the procedure described above. Each question was rated on a five-point scale in terms of its appropriateness for tapping attitudes as opposed to knowledge. For example, a question such as "What percentage of the population is Moslem?" would be of little value as an item on an attitude scale. All questions which received a mean rating of four or more were selected as items for the next phase of attitude scale construction. This phase of subselection resulted in 259 potential items.

A6. Selection of Politically Sensitive Items for Attitude Scales

The next task was to select from among the 259 potential items those which would be most likely to elicit clearly opposite responses from persons of strong right-wing and left-wing political convictions. That is, we wanted to construct an attitude scale which would be sensitive to current political polarities in Turkey. Accordingly, the judges for this phase of selection were all politically sensitive students and academicians. The group of 23 judges came from five major universities: Hacettepe University, University of Ankara, Middle-East Technical University (Ankara), University of Istanbul, and Bosphorus University (Istanbul). Judges included political columnists, professors of political theory, and representatives of student political groups of the left and the right.

The items were prepared in terms of polarized statements, such as: "(A) He would spend money for schools -- (B) He would spend money for mosques." "(A) He thinks it is necessary for women to enter political life actively -- (B) not necessary." "(A) He supports birth control -- (B) doesn't support birth control." The statements were placed at opposite ends of a nine-point scale with a zero midpoint, each of the steps defined by a Turkish quantifier (as described in Section 2.2.2, above).

In order to get a refined discrimination of the potential attitude scale items, judges were asked to rate each item on an 11-point scale in terms of its ability to elicit clearly different responses from rightists and leftists.

Each of the 259 items was given a mean score in terms of these ratings, and the top ten items for each of the seven topics were selected for the next phase of evaluation. (Because of two ties in frequency, 72 items were used.)

A7. Selection of Politically Polarized Items

For construction of the final attitude scale, it was necessary to choose only those items most susceptible to political polarization. To this end, the 72 items selected by the above procedure were applied to actual political figures for rating by 25 politically active students of both the right and the left. The four politicians were well-known party leaders: Süleyman Demirel of the large center-to-right Justice Party, Bülent Ecevit of the social democratic People's Republican Party, Necmettin Erbakan of right-wing religious National Salvation Party, and Alpaslan Türkeş of the economically rightist National Movement Party. (This part of the study was carried out in February of 1975, a politically charged period during which the Ecevit-Erbakan coalition government was in its final stages of collapse before being replaced by a Demirel government.) Nine-point polar scales were constructed for each of the 72 items, and students were instructed to place each of the four political leaders on each of the scales. The poles were represented by A and B statements, and each of the steps was defined by a Turkish quantifier, as explained above. For example:

(A) He thinks that the government is responsible for solving all of the country's problems.

(B) He doesn't think that the government is responsible for solving all of the country's problems.

(A).------.------.------.--------.------.--------.------.------.------.(B)

a lot very rather a little none a little rather very a lot

The four leaders were rated simultaneously on each scale.

For each item, a mean difference score in rating was determined for each of the possible six pairs of leaders. Of the four leaders, only Ecevit is truly of the left, and the remaining three can be considered more or less right-wing. Accordingly, we wished to choose items on which the three rightist leaders were rated similarly, and on which all three differed maximally from the leftist leader. To this end, two mean values were

calculated: $\underline{M}_1$ -- the average of mean differences in rating in the pairs Demirel-Erbakan, Demirel-Türkeş, and Erbakan-Türkeş; $\underline{M}_2$ -- the average of mean differences in rating in the pairs Ecevit-Demirel, Ecevit-Erbakan, and Ecevit-Türkeş. The difference between $\underline{M}_1$ and $\underline{M}_2$ was defined as a polarity score. For each of the seven topics, the three most polarized scales were chosen for construction of the attitude scale to be applied to judgments of personal values on the basis of linguistic usage. These 21 scales are given in Table 2, above.

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